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EUROPE AT ARMAGEDDON

BY THE EDITOR

“ And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them.”

EUROPE stands to-day at Armageddon. On every hand its proud peoples are rising in their virile strength and are rushing with earth-shaking tread to that frightful holocaust which may check our civilization: giants grappling to the death in a modern “Twilight of the Gods.” For forty years old Europe has known no war, and in those years its ambitious sons have labored without ceasing to the conquest of the world. No province of the material or mental realms but has felt their devouring energy. The semi-rural Europe of a scant three generations ago has been transformed as by an enchanter’s wand into a swarming hive of industry vibrating to the hum of its machines, its sky-lines blurred by the smoke of its countless factories, its wrinkled face everywhere blotched and speckled by a myriad of towns and cities spreading like huge fungi over the green meadows and fields. Deep into its vitals Europe’s sons have delved for the coal and iron to feed their roaring furnaces; deep into the unexplored regions of science its savants and inventors have plunged to wring from brute matter its secret hoards. Further, Europe’s narrow boundaries have not

sufficed a moment for the insatiable appetites of its children, and from the broad quays of its busy ports numberless merchantmen have sailed forth to scour the seas for markets and have returned laden with the produce of the Orient and the New World. No quarter of the earth has been too barbarous or remote to escape the ambition of its colonists, and every unclaimed region of the globe has long since been pre-empted for one or other of its rival flags. Africa and the far-off archipelagoes of the Pacific are wholly under European sway. Only the extreme Orient has succeeded in guarding its political identity, while Latin America, though maintaining its freedom, has become one of the richest fields for European economic exploitation. To outward seeming Europe has become the master of the world.

Yet beneath this fair exterior of power and glory a canker has long eaten into Europe's very heart—the canker of jealousy and internecine hatred, which threatens to put all in jeopardy and which menaces its warring children with a sudden fall to the dead level of a common ruin. Europe has long been sick—perhaps sick unto death. The forty years' peace has been no peace, only a feverish truce wherein national rivalries and racial hatreds have intensified and deepened until the day of reckoning was bound to come. That mad piling up of fleet upon fleet and army upon army against which so much rhetoric has been expended these later years has been but the most striking symptom of a disease curable only by a fundamental change in the European state of mind, a malady which no machinery of arbitration could reach—only the conversion of the European soul.

And of late this disease has plainly been growing worse. Four times in the last nine years Europe's feverish frame has been racked by an acute crisis portending the inevitable end. "1905," "1908," "1911," "1912": the crises have been becoming more frequent, more violent, more general. It really could not have gone on much longer. Therefore it is not at all surprising that the little war on the middle Danube should have sent all Europe forthwith into the supreme convulsion; the miracle would have been had it been put off another year. Consider all those raucous notes which have long since transformed into a hideous cacaphony the boasted "Concert" of Europe:—hatred of Germany festering in every

French heart, with the wild thirst for vengeance for 1870, "The Terrible Year," and fixed resolve to win back the lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine; fear and hatred in English breasts for that Germany successfully competing for the markets of the world and openly challenging Britain's lordship of the sea; hatred of England in German hearts for Anglo-Saxon pre-emption of the good things of this world and veto upon Germany's strivings for a "place in the sun"; reckless stirrings of young Italy, fired with dreams of Imperial Rome; fresh crises of the eternal Eastern Question convulsing the Balkans with ferocious grapplings of half-barbarian peoples; worst of all, throughout Central Europe, recrudescence of the age-long struggle between Teuton and Slav. Here alone is fuel heaped high for a mighty conflagration, even disregarding entirely the brands blown from external points of friction in Morocco, on the Congo, at Bagdad, in Persia, in China, and over every debatable economic area of the four quarters of the earth.

Well, the great conflagration has come at last, and to-day all Europe is wrapped in flames. With what frightful swiftness the little spark upon the middle Danube has flashed the huge tinder-box of an entire continent and set alight a dozen by-fires in Africa, Asia, and the Far-Eastern seas! Think of it! Only a short month ago the world was settling down to its midsummer siesta, wholly unconscious of impending ill. Kings and Presidents were off yachting or paying party calls, diplomats were "taking the waters" after the winter's gastronomic campaign, the people at large were making ready for their summer outings on seashore and mountain, while the annual stream of American tourists was fully under way. Suddenly a cloud appeared on the southern horizon, a cloud at first no bigger than a man's hand, but swiftly covering the entire heavens and wrapping the earth in darkness, shot only by lurid lightnings. Then what a change came over the face of Europe! Its several peoples, steeled from their cradles to this very eventuality, sprang to arms, each man in the place marked out for him in his young manhood, made ready for the grim work by years of training beneath his country's flag. Smoothly and silently the well-oiled machinery of mobilization has set the stage, and the myriad players are already acting their respective parts in "Europe in Arms"—the greatest tragedy of all recorded history.

Imagine the spectacle of Europe at this very hour. Gone are the multitudes of pleasure-seekers from their summer haunts; the sea-beaches are deserted, the shuttered villas and empty hotels await their possible destruction by the war-craft whose smoke trails black along the ocean horizon. Gone are the tourists and trampers from the Swiss mountains; these picturesque slopes are to-day scaled by a sterner breed of climbers—the blue-clad Swiss riflemen with their mountain batteries, prepared to defend at all costs the neutrality of their beloved country. In the gorgeous casinos of a hundred summer resorts card-room and concert-hall alike stand empty, while the valetudinarians have fled their favorite “Spas” and “Kurorts,” forgetting their physical ailments in the overpowering grip of the universal moral ill.

And if pleasure's realm be thus paralyzed, the workaday world is in almost as sore straits. The fields are yellowing with the harvest, but the sturdy reapers are gone and this year's grain must be garnered by weeping women, wide-eyed children, and men already bowed beneath the accumulated weight of years. The steel-works and arsenals are, it is true, busy enough—busier than they have ever been before, and pulsating with feverish energy both day and night; but elsewhere the wheels of industry have almost ceased to turn, for the best workers are gone and there is no work for those left behind—the nation's coal-supply must be hoarded for the arsenals, the gun-foundries, and the fleets. In Europe's great cities stores are closing, business offices are shutting, Bourse and Exchange are down. Idle crowds cheer the regiments marching to the railway stations, or hang feverishly about the bulletin-boards, hungry for tidings of victory. Furthermore, a very real domestic peril threatens many of these cities. That same lack of coal which has already closed the factories will presently shut down the municipal lighting-plants as well. The cities will soon be dark at night, and with a police force depleted of its best men the “apache” and the hooligan, insensible to patriotism, will swarm forth with darkness to their vermin's work.

But even though partial paralysis has settled upon the realms of industry and pleasure, other branches of human activity are pulsating with hectic life. Every railroad line is working to its full capacity. The first wave of young

reservists has, it is true, already passed, but the long troop-trains still coil along the valleys or grind across the plains, for the barracks are beginning to fill with "Landwehr"—second reservists brushing up their half-forgotten military duties and making ready to support the field armies already melting beneath the wastage of war. Perhaps before very long, should the tide set strongly against one or other of the combatants, still other troop-trains will traverse the endangered lands—trains filled with grizzled "Landsturm" answering their country's last call.

Troop-trains, however, are but one of the components to the vast masses of rolling-stock which overflow into every railway yard and siding. The fighting millions at the front must not only be reinforced, but must be fed, supplied, and munitioned as well. Wherefore, countless freight-trains of box-cars filled with foodstuffs and equipment, cattle-cars with cavalry remounts, flat-cars piled high with bulky, tarpaulined artillery. Also, as one nears the hostile frontiers, the roads vie with the railways in their press of feverish life. The broad, beautiful European highways are jammed with a swift-flowing human tide—endless infantry marching to right and left, cavalry, gun-batteries, and traction-engine trains clattering and grumbling along the middle of the road; the byways choked with grain-carts and with herds of cattle for the feeding of the armies. Think of the thousands of miles of road and railway bearing such scenes, in the smiling border country of Germany and France, amid the wooded Ardennes, on the flatlands of Austrian Galicia and Eastern Germany, through the rugged defiles of the Carpathians, along the middle Danube, and far out on the vast Russian plains, and we may then form some conception of this stupendous spectacle of Europe going forth to war.

Furthermore, this is but half the tale. Europe has long since overflowed its bounds, and its conflagration has accordingly spread to every European sphere of influence in its colonies or on the sea. At the uttermost ends of the earth men prepare to-day for the fight. On the plains of western Canada, on the South-African veldt, in the towns and villages of the Australian antipodes, volunteers are mustering for transportation to European battle-fields. On the bastions of Tsing-Tau sweating Chinese coolies are strengthening the lonely German outpost in the East. Amid

the fever-haunted swamps and jungles of Africa savage negroes who by no possibility could ever have heard tell of Servia or Alsace-Lorraine stand ready to fight the white man's internecine war.

The pathways of the ocean likewise present a strange and ominous spectacle. A short month ago they were crowded with shipping; now they are almost deserted. A few neutral steamers keep to the accustomed track, but all belligerent shipping not safely tied up in port scatters for the lonelier reaches of the ocean, rushing along under forced draught with hooded lights at night, ever fearful of the swift commerce-destroyers ranging the seas for prey. No friendly chit-chat flies from ship to ship as but a month ago; only some rare code message breaks, mysterious, menacing, upon the silence of the wireless operator's room. The ocean has, indeed, become very lonely now.

However, one part of ocean's broad domain is the reverse of lonely at the present moment. The North Sea is very much alive, though with a life monstrous and terrible almost beyond the stretch of our imaginative powers. On this restricted bit of boisterous sea float hundreds upon hundreds of complex fighting-machines, ranging in size from the huge super-Dreadnought to the waspish torpedo-boat and the venomous submarine. The angry, gray-green waters are sown thick with deadly mines, ready at the slightest touch to burst into frightful explosion. The low coasts are studded with German big-gun batteries from Borkum near the Dutch frontier to the Danish border beyond the mouth of the vital Kiel Canal, while far out at sea stands Heligoland, a German Gibraltar, ready to smite with its long-range batteries or sting with submarines shot out from its hidden caves. Strange sounds reach the straining ears of landmen on these North Sea shores—dull booming of heavy guns, muffled concussion of torpedo or contact-mine. At night the flickering play of searchlights on the horizon. For the rest, silence and mystery.

From the land-areas of war the same lack of news. Behind the impenetrable veil of censorship millions of men are wrestling in the death-grapple, but only curt official announcements, ambiguous when not intentionally deceiving, whet the appetites of a breathless world tormented by the wild lucubrations of "war correspondents" far from the outermost fringe of actual hostilities. Only the trains of

wounded and the convoys of prisoners bear eloquent testimony to the titanic struggles going on behind the veil:—crashing duels of fortress and siege artillery, desperate infantry assaults strewing glacis and counterscarp with dead and dying, captured forts blown bodily into the air, fierce cavalry charges, hand-to-hand combats in forest and on mountain-side, crouching battle-lines torn and harried by raining shrapnel. High over all the silver glint of a war Zeppelin or the swift dart of a monoplane showing like a black vampire amid the evening mists against the western sky. This—and the prophecy of a leading army surgeon in the late Balkan wars that a month after the outbreak of the present conflagration a million and a half of men would be dead.

“For there fell down many slain, because the war was of God.” A holy war! the kings, the divinely appointed kings, proclaim.

“And now,” says the Kaiser from his balcony to the people in the street, “I commend you to God; go to your church and kneel before God and pray for help for our gallant army.”

“We, Nicholas II., by God’s Grace Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias,” the Czar responds.

“With God’s help,” echoes Francis Joseph.

Even the Poet Laureate sings:

It is God’s answer. Though for many a year
This land forgot the faith that made her great,
Now, as her fleets cast off the North Sea foam,
Casting aside all faction and all fear,
Thrice armed in all the majesty of her fate,
Britain remembers, and her sword strikes home.

All in the name of the Lord! But the reckoning! Our own Scollard asks:

What do they reckon who sit aloof on thrones,
Or in the chambered chancelleries apart,
Playing the game of state with subtle art,
If so be they may win, what wretched groans
Rise from red fields, what unrecorded bones
Bleach within shallow graves, what bitter smart
Pierces the widowed or the orphaned heart—
The unhooded horror for which naught atones!

A word, a pen-stroke, and this might not be!
But vengeance, power-lust, festering jealousy

Triumph, and grim carnage stalks abroad.
Hark! Hear that ominous bugle on the wind!
And they who might have stayed it, shall they find
No reckoning within the courts of God?

If the minds and hearts of humans comprise "the courts of God," there need be no doubt that full penalty will be exacted; but cautiously and with surety of understanding. Was it within the power of man to stay the cataclysm? Was not the crash inevitable? Could Wilhelm have averted it? Or Nicholas? Each accuses the other. Both seek exculpation from America. What have they to say? The Czar speaks through his letter to King George:

I would gladly have accepted your proposals [of mediation] had not the German Ambassador this afternoon presented a note to my Government declaring war. Ever since the presentation of the ultimatum at Belgrade, Russia has devoted all her efforts to finding some pacific solution of the question raised by Austria's action. The object of that action was to crush Servia and make her a vassal of Austria. The effect of this would have been to upset the balance of power in the Balkans, which is of such vital interest to my empire.

Every proposal, including that of your Government, was rejected by Germany and Austria, and it was only when the favorable moment for bringing pressure to bear on Austria had passed that Germany showed any disposition to mediate. Even then she did not put forward any precise proposal. Austria's declaration of war on Servia forced me to order a partial mobilization, though, in view of the threatening situation, my military advisers strongly advised a general mobilization, owing to the quickness with which Germany can mobilize in comparison with Russia.

I was eventually compelled to take this course in consequence of complete Austrian mobilization, of the bombardment of Belgrade, of concentration of Austrian troops in Galicia, and of secret military preparations being made in Germany. That I was justified in doing so is proved by Germany's sudden declaration of war, which was quite unexpected by me, as I had given most categorical assurances to the Emperor William that my troops would not move so long as mediation negotiations continued.

In this solemn hour I wish to assure you once more that I have done all in my power to avert war. Now that it has been forced on me, I trust your country will not fail to support France and Russia. God bless and protect you.

And the Emperor responds through his Imperial Chancellor:

The war is a life-and-death struggle between Germany and the Muscovite races of Russia, and was due to the recent royal murders at Serajevo.

We warned Russia against kindling this world war. She demanded the humiliation of Austria, and while the German Emperor continued his work in the cause of peace and the Czar was telegraphing words of friendship to him, Russia was preparing for war against Germany.

Highly civilized France, bound by her unnatural alliance with Russia, was compelled to prepare by strength of arms for an attack on its flank on the Franco-Belgian frontier in case we proceeded against the French frontier works. England, bound to France by obligations disowned long ago, stood in the way of a German attack on the northern coast of France.

Necessity, therefore, forced us to violate the neutrality of Belgium, but we had promised emphatically to compensate that country for all damage inflicted.

Now England avails herself of the long-awaited opportunity to commence war for the destruction of commercially prosperous Germany. We enter into that war with our trust in God. Our eternal race has risen in the fight for liberty, as it did in 1813.

It is with a heavy heart that we see England ranged among our opponents.

Notwithstanding the blood relationship and close relationship in spiritual and cultural work between the two countries, England has placed herself on the side of Russia, whose instability and whose barbaric insolence have helped this war, the origin of which was murder, and the purpose of which was the humiliation and suppression of the German race by Russian pan-Slavism.

We expect that the sense of justice of the American people will enable them to comprehend our situation. We invite their opinion as to the one-sided English representations, and ask them to examine our point of view in an unprejudiced way.

The sympathy of the American nation will then lie with German culture and civilization, fighting against a half-Asiatic and slightly cultured barbarism.

Neither of these explanations rings true. The one is an apology; the other an excuse. No discerning mind can fail to read between the lines a conviction that now was the time to strike, regardless of pretexts, and the consequence was irresistible. While, moreover, it is undoubtedly a war of monarchs and unwanted by the masses, we cannot but suspect that even to the peoples the final outbreak bore relief, if not enthusiasm, in no small measure. The burdens of mighty armaments had become too heavy for the shoulders of the toilers to bear. Their bodies were being crushed, their minds benumbed, their souls deadened. To make way for better things a clash was as essential as in our own land it was necessary to free the slaves. Back of all, underneath all, may be the onrush of democracy, designed, indeed, by God to sweep despotism from the face of the earth and open the eyes of His children to their rightful heritage of that "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" whose winning through conflict constitutes to-day the greatest boon of humankind. Perhaps, in reverent truth, a Holy War!

When and how will it all end? No man can say. The

factors are so numerous, the combinations so infinite, that the boldest prophets must stand abashed. But the ultimate possibilities are so tremendous as fairly to take away one's breath. The British Empire may crumble into ruin, with Germany master of the sea and lord of Europe; the German Empire may be crushed beneath the weight of its enemies and come forth a bleeding wreck, shorn of its colonies and its border provinces, its wonderful industrialism and merchant marine hopelessly destroyed; defeat will almost certainly spell the break-up of Austria, and this, coupled with the corollary of a Russian triumph, may mean a Slav ocean stretching to the frontiers of Italy and endangering Western Civilization.

Consider also the momentous social possibilities involved in the Great War. The existing social order may break down utterly beneath the frightful strain; the governments, with shattered armies and empty treasuries, may crumble in a combined military and financial bankruptcy before the sudden attack of a desperate, hunger-stricken proletariat already fired by the Syndicalist gospel of violent social revolution, and the old Europe may disappear in a welter of anarchy. On the other hand, bloodshed and battle may intensify the national consciousness of the European peoples, deepen the hatreds between race and race, plunge the world into a whole cycle of wars—a new Iron Age in which the finer flowers of our civilization would be ruthlessly trampled under foot, and the present era of free thought and individual liberty be replaced by the hand of military despotism.

Again, consider the possible reactions of this European conflagration upon the world at large. Up to a month ago the white race was master of this planet. Africa was absolutely beneath European sway, while in Asia only the island Empire of Japan had made good its position, and this only by the grace of European disunion and the alliance of the European British Empire. But in these last ten years a strange breath has passed over the Asiatic world. The victories of Japan have awakened the dormant spirit of the East, and the countless millions of the Orient, once so passive, to-day chafe sullenly at the European yoke. India is seething with unrest at the British "Raj"; "unchanging" China is changing at last, and their teeming populations are beating fiercely against the white man's own frontier and answering his exclusion laws with threats and menaces

which may portend still mightier race struggles in the years to come—struggles beside which even the present battle of the nations might seem tame indeed. Also, the recent movements in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia prove that in the Mohammedan world as well a new spirit is abroad. Islam is not dead, its fires of fanaticism are banked but are not cold, and its two hundred millions of adherents extend from Morocco to China, from Siberia to the Congo and the Celebes. Should these new spirits continue to walk abroad, what would be the situation of a Europe bled to the point of death by a modern "Peloponnesian War"?

Finally, what of the New World? From the immediate military struggle itself America fortunately stands aloof. A few thousand Canadians may shed their blood in Flanders or on the lower Rhine; a few hundred conscripts from the French Antilles may die in Alsace or beneath the walls of Paris; a small fraction of our foreign population will return to pay its patriotic debt to the mother continent. Aside from these things America can to-day suffer no appreciable drain either in men or in war material. For a short time, indeed, the pressing needs of war-stricken Europe will powerfully stimulate both American industry and American agriculture, although the general liquidation of losses following a stupendous consumption of the world's capital, together with the decreased purchasing power of a semi-bankrupt European continent, will soon more than offset this abnormal stimulus and will presently engender a prolonged period of economic reaction. However, America will lose infinitely less than any other part of the civilized world and will be relatively stronger than she is to-day. Indeed, by a quick grasp of present opportunities, aided by the inevitable rehabilitation of our long-lost merchant marine, we should be able to gain a secure foothold in many foreign markets hitherto virtual European monopolies, especially in Latin America.

Nevertheless, the tremendous possibilities which may arise from the final outcome of the present European conflagration may engender problems vital to our whole future. Suppose a German Empire, rising triumphant over a ruined England, lord of the sea, hungry for markets and colonies to recoup its losses. Suppose an aroused and aggressive Asia, with the United States the sole unscathed member of the white world. Suppose, even, a firmly welded British

Empire, united by successful war, militarized by the intoxication of victory, and allied to a hungry and bellicose Japan. We assert our hegemony of this hemisphere, we are in possession of earth's greatest prize, the Panama Canal. And—the Anglo-German death-grapple proves that blood is not always thicker than water.

All these eventualities, it is true, still lie in the unknown future, but one among them may lie in the very immediate future. At any rate, one lesson seems to lie fair for our reading: on this day of Armageddon America should neglect nothing for the sure maintenance of her position in a quaking world.

“The United States,” says the President in his moving appeal to his countrymen, “must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another. My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action, a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.”

Noble words fitly spoken! So let be the thoughts and conduct of all, to the end that, when the time shall come, as assuredly it will come, to act for the restoration of peace and good-will among distracted peoples, no bar shall cross the path of a Chief Magistrate who would crown the Republic with glory by striving as a friend among the nations of the earth!

THE FIRST TUMBLING-BLOCK

AUSTRIA attacked Serbia; and then Russia menaced Austria; and then Germany attacked Russia and France; and then Great Britain attacked Germany. It was for all the world like a set of the tumbling-blocks with which children

play; or used to play before they became too sophisticated for such simple joys. You stood them all on end, in a row. Left alone, they stood securely. But if you toppled over the one at one end of the row it fell against the next, and it against the next, and so on until they all went down. It was your touch that started the process, by upsetting the first block.

What was it that started this European cataclysm? What was the first block that fell, and what upset it? There has been such a clamor in the down-crashing of all the row that the initial disturbance is in danger of being overlooked and forgotten.

The fatal touch was Austria's, given because of Serbia's unsatisfactory reply to her ultimatum. To apprehend correctly, then, the circumstances of the beginning of the war, it is necessary to keep in mind the character of that ultimatum, and of Serbia's reply. Austria demanded:

First, that Serbia should give formal assurance of its condemnation of the Serb propaganda against Austria-Hungary. This Serbia agreed to do.

Second, that Serbia should publish such assurance conspicuously in its Official Journal. This, also, Serbia agreed to do.

Third, that Serbia should express regret for the participation of Servian officers in the propaganda. This was agreed to.

Fourth, that the Servian Government should proceed rigorously against all guilty of such machinations. To this Serbia agreed.

Fifth, that the King of Serbia should issue these declarations to his army in an order of the day, and in the Official Bulletin of the army. This demand was granted.

Sixth, that all Servian publications which incited hatred or contempt of Austria-Hungary should be suppressed. This Serbia agreed to do.

Seventh, that the Servian society known as the National Union be dissolved. To this Serbia agreed.

Eighth, that a stop be put to the teaching of enmity to Austria in Servian schools. This was agreed to.

Ninth, that all Servian officers guilty of propaganda against Austria be dismissed from the service; Austria being privileged to name them. To this Serbia agreed, with merely the stipulation that in naming the officers for dis-

missal Austria should furnish satisfactory proof of their guilt.

Tenth, that Austrian agents should assist the Servian Government in suppressing the anti-Austrian propaganda in Servia itself, and that Austrian judges should sit in judgment upon offending Servians in Servia. To this Servia demurred, unless the required action could be taken without impairing Servian sovereignty and independence.

Eleventh, that Servia should give explanations of the utterances of certain of her officials concerning the Serajevo murders. This Servia agreed to do.

Here, then, were eleven demands, of which nine were unconditionally and unhesitatingly granted; a tenth was granted with only a single condition of the most obvious and reasonable character; and the eleventh was objected to merely until a way should be shown by which it could be granted without destroying the national sovereignty and independence of Servia. Yet, apparently, because of the conditions of Servia's reply to these two, Austria deemed the reply to her ultimatum unsatisfactory and declared war.

We shall perhaps more clearly appreciate the circumstances if we consider what would have been the effect of unconditional acquiescence by Servia in these two Austrian demands. The one, the ninth, would have meant the placing of every Servian officer at the mercy of foreign malice. It would have meant that any Servian officer would be liable to proscription and dismissal upon the demand of an alien power, without conviction of guilt, and without even the showing of cause for such action. The other, the tenth, would have meant that the most important function of government on Servian soil, the administration of justice, would be arbitrarily performed by the quite irresponsible officials of an alien power. It would have meant that the property, the liberty, and the very life of Servians would be at the disposal of aliens. In brief, the granting of these two demands would have meant the abdication of Servian independence.

In what manner the Austro-Hungarian Government would have exercised the extraordinary control of Servian affairs which it thus sought may be judged from occurrences of a few years ago in Croatia. In 1909 some fifty-three persons were arrested at Agram for high treason, and the government demanded death sentences for five of them, and twenty years of penal servitude for others. The evidence against

most of them proved to be of the flimsiest character, largely manufactured by agents of the Austro-Hungarian secret police, and the court consequently acquitted twenty-two of the accused, and imposed comparatively light sentences upon the rest. A little later the Supreme Court quashed all the sentences, set all the accused at liberty, and scathingly condemned the government for false prosecution of innocent men.

It will be recalled, also, that in 1908-09 the Vienna *Reichspost* and the *Neue Freie Presse*, the most authoritative papers in that city, both of them "inspired" by the government, published charges of treasonable conspiracy against several prominent Slavs of the southern provinces, supporting them with "official documents." The men thus accused promptly brought suits for libel against the two papers, which they won. It was admitted by the defendants that the "official documents" were sheer forgeries, and the alleged "conspiracy" was found to be utterly mythical.

It was because Servia demurred at placing her officers and people at the mercy of such practices that Austria declared war upon her. That was the first tumbling-block in the disastrous series which has now involved nearly all of Europe in the most tremendous cataclysm since the fall of Rome. Or if that was not it, and if there were other and more weighty causes for the war, then it rests with the aggressive belligerents to show what those other causes were. The world has not yet been informed of them. As the case stands, the war was begun because Servia was reluctant to repudiate her own sovereignty, and Austria was unwilling to have an international dispute composed according to the terms of a treaty of which she was herself a signatory.

BELLIGERENT DISREGARD OF TREATIES

"*LEGES silent inter arma*," said Cicero, counsel for the defense in the famous Milo-Clodio murder trial. War automatically abrogates or at least suspends all treaties is the modern diplomatic version; which, like many diplomatic sayings, is not altogether true. A British statesman tried to enforce it at Ghent, a hundred years ago, saying that the War of 1812 had completely voided the Treaty of 1783. "Then you no longer recognize the independence of the

United States, but regard us as your rebellious colonies?" inquired Adams; at which it was conceded that war did not, after all, abrogate all treaties.

There are other exceptions to the rule, two of which are pertinent to present circumstances. War surely does not abrogate, even as between the actual belligerents, those treaties which prescribe the method of waging or of not waging war, the rules of battle, the treatment of the wounded and prisoners, and the like. Such treaty obligations are of value only in time of war, and it would be stultifying to enter into them if they were to be disregarded the moment they became useful.

Neither, of course, does war abrogate or suspend treaties between belligerents and neutrals.

One other point needs to be added, and to be kept clearly in mind. That is, that the treaty-abrogating effect of war, so far as it prevails, is not anticipatory. It is one thing to abrogate treaties the moment when war is declared. It is or would be another and a very different thing to abrogate treaties in advance of war, as a preparation for it.

These propositions and some others are suggested by the extraordinary disregard of treaty obligations which marked the opening of the present European war.

The historic and logical prelude to the war was the Austro-Hungarian seizure of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a sort of Reichsland, in October, 1908. That it was which incited the Balkan League to undertake the conquest of Turkey in Europe. That it was, moreover, which so enormously increased Servian fear and hatred of Austria-Hungary as to give rise to the conditions which the latter power this year complained of and made her pretext for trying to intervene in Servian affairs. Now that extension of the Emperor-King's sovereignty over those provinces was a direct violation of the Berlin Treaty of July 13, 1878, to which Austria-Hungary was a party, which recognized continued Turkish sovereignty over the provinces, and which assigned them to Austria-Hungary merely for "occupation and administration" and not for annexation or the exercise of actual sovereignty.

A second violation, or ignoring, of the same treaty occurred at the beginning of the present war, when Austria-Hungary presented her ultimatum to Servia. It was legitimate to demand the cessation of a propaganda hostile to Aus-

tria-Hungary, the dismissal of officers guilty of breaches of international amity, and the punishment of criminals. But when Austria-Hungary demanded that she should be permitted to name the officers who were to be dismissed, and that Austro-Hungarian prosecutors and judges should enter Serbia to accuse, try, sentence, and punish whom they saw fit, she practically demanded Serbia's renunciation of her own essential sovereignty and independence; in disregard of that same Berlin Treaty, in which the independence and sovereignty of Serbia were explicitly recognized by Austria-Hungary and the other powers.

The first act of Germany in the war involved, as the German Chancellor has since practically admitted, a double violation of treaty. Germany asked Luxemburg for permission to occupy her territory for belligerent purposes, promising her full indemnity. That was a request that Luxemburg should make herself a party to violation of the London Treaty of 1867, by which that Grand Duchy was constituted and guaranteed a neutral state. On Luxemburg's refusal thus to compromise her neutrality, Germany invaded and occupied her territory, thus herself forcibly violating that same treaty, to which she, or at least Prussia, had been a party.

Following that, Germany pursued precisely the same course toward Belgium, another neutral state. First she asked permission to violate that neutrality, which meant for Belgium herself to connive at the breaking of the Treaty of 1831-32, of which she was a signatory. On Belgium's refusal, Germany proceeded forcibly to violate her neutrality, thus breaking the treaty named and also the treaty of August, 1870, between Great Britain and Germany, or Prussia, by which that neutrality was again guaranteed.

These German violations of treaties differed in one respect radically from that of Austria-Hungary. For the latter power looked upon Serbia as her potential if not actual belligerent, while Germany had no quarrel whatever with Luxemburg and Belgium, but for the sake of more effectively striking at an enemy voided treaties with non-enemies.

In another way another treaty was grossly ignored by both Austria-Hungary and Germany. That was the Treaty of The Hague, first made in 1899 and specifically renewed in 1907. Of that treaty all the belligerents and many other

powers were signatories. In entering into it they declared themselves to be

“Animated by the sincere desire to work for the maintenance of general peace; resolved to promote by all the efforts in their power the friendly settlement of international disputes; desirous of extending the empire of law and of strengthening the appreciation of international justice.”

In view of this exalted profession of ironic faith, the signatory powers adopted an elaborate treaty, the first three articles of which provide as follows:

“In order to prevent as far as possible the recourse to force in international relations, the signatory powers agree to employ all their efforts to bring about, by pacific means, the solution of the differences which may arise between states. The signatory powers agree that in case of grave disagreement or conflict, before appealing to arms, they will have recourse, so far as circumstances allow it, to the good offices or mediation of one or more of the friendly powers. Independently of this recourse, the signatory powers consider it useful that one or more powers that are not concerned in the conflict should offer, of their own initiative, so far as the circumstances lend themselves to it, their good offices or their mediation to the disputing states . . . even during the course of hostilities.”

Now of all the powers of Europe which made those lofty professions and took upon themselves those solemn obligations, how many and which made good their words with deeds? Servia is understood to have invoked the terms of the treaty, and to have asked for mediation of the issues between herself and Austria-Hungary; an appeal which was unhesitatingly denied. Great Britain and France both urged upon Germany and Russia the desirability of deliberation and of mediation; but in vain. There is no indication nor pretense that Austria-Hungary, Germany, or Russia ever for a moment contemplated such a course, or seriously considered acceding to the requests of those that did suggest it. They went to war precisely as they would have done if The Hague and its congresses and its treaties had never existed.

The recommendation of the treaty, that powers not concerned in the conflict should of their own initiative tender their good offices, has not so far as the world knows been acted upon by a single European power; for Great Britain

and France, when they made their appeals, were already potentially concerned in the conflict. Perhaps this neglect is to be excused on the ground that all the great powers were more or less directly involved in the issues, as either actual or potential belligerents or as allies of the belligerents; and such offers of mediation from minor powers were hardly to be expected, and would have been made with little or no prospect of being regarded otherwise than as impertinent.

Practically, then, the United States was the only power in a position to fulfil that part of the treaty, and it is gratifying to know that it undertook to do so. It might be wished that the offer had been made more promptly; but there were three cardinal reasons for the delay. One was, of course, the characteristic dilatoriness of the Secretary of State. The second was the complications in Mexico with which we were still troubled. The third was the crushing burden of domestic calamity which the President was enduring. It must always be remembered to his honor that from the shadow of his own inconsolable woe he spoke a word in noble effort to avert the woe of nations. Nor was that offer altogether belated, since the treaty explicitly provided that it might be made at any time, before or during actual hostilities.

This war of 1914 is thus not greatly encouraging for the establishment of international law and the confirmation of the sanctity of treaty obligations. Seldom if ever before have such obligations of so grave a character been so summarily and flagrantly shirked, ignored, repudiated. Yet we should not be altogether discouraged, either, since never before has such treaty-breaking been so generally condemned by the moral sense and voice of the world.

THE NEW HAVEN SETTLEMENT

It is with peculiar gratification that, in concluding the account of the work done by the Department of Justice under the direction of Attorney-General James C. McReynolds, we are enabled to record a settlement which permits a "peaceful dissolution" of the New Haven railway monopoly. The cost of bankruptcy proceedings involving receiverships of more than two hundred corporations would have been incalculable, bearing heavily not only upon the

sixty thousand shareholders, but also upon the traveling public and shippers whose interests are so vitally concerned in the prompt rehabilitation of the great property.

It seemed for a time as if, in this particular instance, the general policy of conservation and reconstruction adopted at the outset and pursued undeviatingly by Mr. McReynolds must fail, as the inevitable consequence of an *impasse* for whose existence nobody could well be blamed. The original agreement assumed that the Massachusetts Legislature would co-operate with the Government and the corporation to the extent of permitting the sale of the large block of Boston & Maine railway stock held by the New Haven company without restriction, but for some reason, possibly political, Governor Walsh declined to advocate this procedure, and the enabling act failed of passage. Excuse for this refusal was found in the apprehension of the State that the control of the entire Boston & Maine system might be acquired by one of the great Canadian railway companies, to the disadvantage of the community. In view of the fact that, in any event, the property would continue to be subject to local jurisdiction, the Attorney-General perceived little cause for alarm, but he quite properly refused to place the Federal Government in an attitude of interference with the prerogatives of a sovereign commonwealth. On the other hand, the withholding of the right of the State itself to take over the shares in question at any future time upon adjudicated value rendered the stock practically unsalable, and the ensuing deadlock made necessary the resumption of court proceedings by the Department. It was but natural that, in the circumstances, charges and counter charges of responsibility should find vent through personal criticism and official communications, but these need not be considered in the light of the amicable adjustment now happily achieved.

Under the arrangement, the company is allowed two and one-half years in which to dispose of the stock in question and is practically assured an extension of time upon presentation of reasonable cause. This affords ample opportunity to appeal to the people to elect a Governor and Legislature better informed and more considerate of the real interests involved and, that attempt failing, to turn to the courts for review of the hampering existing laws. In other words, says the *Springfield Republican*, voicing the unanimous judgment of the New England press:

The whole matter of the dissolution is now to pass into the judicial atmosphere, with the government, the company, and the state of Massachusetts maintaining a pacific instead of a belligerent attitude. And this is a consummation most fortunate upon which the *Republican* congratulates the Government and the stockholders and directors of the New Haven company. The courts may be depended upon to do justice to property rights in the enforcement of law.

There is no occasion for wonder at the evidences of rejoicing at an unexpected outcome which averts a real calamity, and it was most fitting and becoming, in view of previous animadversions, that the Board of Directors should officially declare their "high appreciation of the courtesy of the Attorney-General and of his hearty co-operation in their endeavor to solve the problem without inflicting unnecessary loss upon the shareholders and to effect a rehabilitation of the property in the interests of the public." It is easy to imagine how a resentful or narrow-minded or popularity-hunting official—a Folk, for example—might have taken a quite opposite course, heedless of the disastrous consequences certain to ensue. For ourselves, then, as we have said, we feel particular gratification in this justification of our firm faith in the high purposes, exceptional breadth, and perfect fairness of the Attorney-General whose promotion to the Supreme Court Bench reflects the highest credit upon the Administration.

To Mr. McReynolds and Mr. Thomas W. Gregory, who managed the Government's case with exceptional ability, and to former-Senator William Murray Crane, who conducted the negotiations on behalf of the company in equally commendable spirit, the people of New England and indeed of the whole country owe an incalculable debt of gratitude.

WE CRY FOR NEWS

WAR would be less like hell if it were not so noisy. One can hardly hear oneself think these days, and the newspapers are so replete with no news from the front that it is quite impossible to find out what is going on. Fortunately the conservative *Congressional Record* has not yet yielded to the impulse which has swamped its contemporaries, and so we learn that Congress is still staggering along under pressure from above with so little prospect of relief that all

Senators and Representatives, except the optimistic Mr. Smoot, seem to have abandoned hope.

Discussion of the Clayton Anti-trust Bill, we may inform our readers, is proceeding along the customary lines and may be concluded at some future date unless a Senator shall object.

In the House of Representatives Mr. Underwood is giving his best thought to questions of revenue. Somewhat, perhaps, to his relief, the actual producing capacity of the new tariff under normal conditions will remain a matter of conjecture for some time to come. Nobody, of course, could have been expected to foresee the present contingency, but here it is, and provision must be made for war taxes just as inevitably as if we were really fighting. The immediate problem is how to add a hundred millions or thereabouts to our National revenues without letting the voters know anything about it. One Representative who proposed to tax incomes as small as \$1,500 was removed to a hospital as a probable victim of the heat, but he proved to be a mere Republican wag. Some think more revenue could be derived from whisky, but experts say whisky is already yielding all the traffic can bear, and that if the tax should be increased even Prohibitionists would stop drinking altogether. Somewhat more, it is believed, might be extracted from beer, but the standard price makes it difficult to reach the ultimate consumer, even with the co-operation of the brewers, who are not unfriendly to the party in power. The suggestion of a stamp tax, of course, is always with us, but there is question in many minds of its popularity at this particular time.

Representative Fowler undoubtedly struck the key-note of true political aspiration when he repeated these verses, composed by himself in the dark watches of a humid night:

Locate the dividing line between
Toil and treasure and pain and pleasure:
On one side of this line may be seen
Pride and plenty and lust and leisure,
Controlling the policies of state,
While on the other, trouble and tears,
Wail and want, doubt and despair, debate
Grave problems of state for coming years.

Look! Spread out o'er this magic domain,
Wealth, a hundred thirty billions lie,
Piled, like the ir'n ore in fair Lorraine,
In heaps, while from hunger millions die.

Here begin, but with caution proceed,
Taxing large fortunes most steadily,
So that hereafter there'll be no need
To tax breadwinners so readily.

Our Alert Colonel voiced the same idea when he declared in Hartford that there is "not the slightest need of any income tax or inheritance tax on small or even moderate fortunes," but there should be "a heavily graded and heavy income tax and inheritance tax on large fortunes." It is not a novel scheme, and is, of course, wholly practicable, but can the rich be mulcted in time to meet the immediate pressing needs? That is the question which vexes Mr. Underwood. If the Government could be informed in advance precisely when each millionaire is going to die, it could make arrangements accordingly; but even the marvelous anticipatory statistics of the Treasury Department do not contain this information. When all is said and done we see nothing for it but to tax the railroads or such of them as are earning operating expenses. However, let Mr. Underwood guess and the President decide.

But it is not Washington alone whose voice is lost in the din of warfare. We can account for the strange stillness which has settled like a pall over the Secretaries of State, Navy, and Commerce, and even the American Ambassador to St. James's. But what has become of Albert Jeremiah Beveridge? Is he or is he not walking for Senator? And Hiram Johnson? Is he for or against Our Colonel? And William Sulzer? And the Boy Scout Malone? Where are they? Are their tongues tied? Or have they ceased to think they are thinking?

We cry out for information of Our Own Heroes on the Firing Line. Has no newspaper sufficient enterprise to get and print the real news of the day and generation?

COMMENT

WHAT basis of reason is there in the common assumption that this will be a short war? It is inconceivable that Germany should triumph, and it is no less credible that she will hasten her own discomfiture. Never before in the history of the world has a nation so fully equipped technically and so strong in ultimate resource engaged in a struggle for existence. The reverses reported to date are slight at best, and

in their sobering effect are probably working to advantage among the German people. Once let them realize to the full that their fight is less for the throne than for the Fatherland and their homes and families, and no limit can be placed upon their capacity for courage, endurance, and sacrifice. Our own revolutionists, the Boers, and the Belgians have left no room for doubt that one patriot defending his country is the equal of three members of an attacking force. Surely the Emperor and his advisers need no information on this score, and to anticipate that they will not shape a policy to put their antagonists in the light of aggressors is to question their intelligence. Hence we regard the heralded prospective great and decisive battle as a mirage. It may not take place in a year or in three years. Since meeting with unexpected resistance in Belgium the German Army seemingly has settled down to cautious but insistent and scientific campaigning and, according even to prejudiced reports, is slowly but surely forcing its way forward in pursuance of a well-designed plan which contemplates protracted conflict. The French and Russian forces are proceeding along the same lines, and the British Navy can do only patrol work till the Kaiser gives the word for battle. Even though the present total cost of the war does exceed twenty millions a day, there exists no certainty and, to our mind, little probability that it will not continue for many months.

Of the various pretexts put forth for engaging in warfare Japan's is not only the most flimsy, but is so solemnly disingenuous as almost to evoke a smile. "We consider it highly important and necessary to take measures to remove the causes of all disturbances of the peace in the Far East," etc. Wherefore respected Germany will kindly remove all warships from the Pacific forthwith and turn over to respectful Japan the entire province of Kiau-chau "without condition or compensation." Kind response requested quite soon. As ever, most humble and obedient Mikado. Peace Brother Bryan please forward most amicable suggestion to gracious Emperor Germany at early convenience.

When Prince Henry came to America he informed the Emperor that his purpose was "to preach in foreign lands the

gospel of Your Majesty's consecrated person," and we listened politely, but, judging from remarks heard nowadays, we should hesitate to advise even the ingratiating Prince to repeat his evangelizing endeavors. The American people may err in holding the Kaiser chiefly responsible for wanton warfare, but they are right in manifesting impatience at the impudence of a very human being's claim to partnership with God. All kings take notice!

From the Congressional Record:

Mr. ASHURST. These are the words of the late Senator Hoar, a distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, a statesman of untarnished public and private character and of highly cultivated mind, yet conservative withal.

Mr. KERN. And who wrote every word of the Sherman Anti-trust law as it was finally passed.

What an extraordinary statement! Can it be possible that the Democratic leader of the Senate is as ignorant as this ridiculously inaccurate assertion indicates?

Now, what the Progressive party proposes to do is to have a commission where the changes recommended shall be made schedule by schedule, not all at once, and by deliberate action, the reasons for which can be given in detail not only to Congress, but to the public.

So declares Our Colonel. We trust that all Progressive candidates for Congress will uphold their leader's pledge to reopen the tariff schedules forthwith.

August 15, 1914, will be celebrated in history as the highly opportune day on which the Hon. William Jennings Bryan presented to each Senator of the United States two volumes of speeches on Peace.